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ABSTRACT

The materials in this paper could be used to enrich the secondary classroom curriculum in Middle Eastern studies or in world affairs. The paper provides four essay questions to use as a starting point in composing a research paper on the general topic, "Israel and Jordan: Paving the Way to Peace." It outlines the common history and political interests of Israel and Jordan, and presents a partial list of positive economic developmental projects, or educational, social, and health-related projects, that the Israeli government has initiated in Jordan. The paper contains much data, many maps, and extensive readings about Israel and Jordan. (BT)

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PAVING A PATH FOR THE FUTURE: COMPARING ISRAEL AND JORDAN

Dr. Ivan Frank &
William P. Fitzhugh

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PAPER PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES
ORLANDO FLORIDA NOVEMBER, 1999

SO 031 532

"Israel and Jordan: Paving a Path for the Future Through Understanding Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East"
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ESSAY QUESTIONS TO USE AS A STARTING POINT IN COMPOSING A RESEARCH PAPER ON THE GENERAL TOPIC "ISRAEL AND JORDAN, PAVING THE WAY TO PEACE."

1. Assuming that Israel and Jordan could find ways to cooperate more culturally, socially, economically, and politically would that deepen their relationship enough to create a warm peace which would extend the Middle East peace process well beyond the Oslo Agreements and Israel's 1994 Peace Treaty with Jordan?

2. Would the above progress specifically help the recent Interim Agreements reach fruition, before the official opening of the Final Status Talks between Israel and the P.N.A.?

3. If Israeli and Jordanian officials would encourage more cooperative ventures in the areas where geopolitical commonalities already exist would that help create a situation by which the two governments could overcome all obstacles(including the typical Middle East mistrust), and realize the necessary security safeguards and regional development dreams for both sides of the Jordan River?

4. Would such cooperation also finally create a lasting Middle East Peace in the region, one which could thrive culturally and economically without the danger of terrorism and the threats of nuclear war.

THE COMMON HISTORY AND POLITICAL INTERESTS OF ISRAEL AND JORDAN

1. Both nations were controlled by Great Britain between 1917 and 1948
2. Jordanian leaders and Israelis leaders were meeting secretly as early as the latter half of the 1940's to discuss their interest in having a positive and productive relationship in a volitile Middle East.
3. King Hussein had an interest in Jerusalem and fro the 1950's on had some influence over Moslem holy sites in East Jerusalem(the Ancient City of David) in the same area where the Jewish nation had religious yearnings since ancient times and desired to unite the Eastern part of Jerusalem with the modern Western part of the city.
4. In 1950, Israel signed a non-aggression and amity agreement with Jordan.
5. In 1970, while there was a Civil War between Jordan and the P.L.O. in Amman and later in Irbid, the Israeli airforce turned back Syrian tanks which were on their way toward Jordan in an apparent effort to conquer the Hashemite Kingdom and overthrow King Hussein. It is said that the Israelis have often saved the king's life.
6. In1967, at the beginning of the Six Day War, Jordan's army fired on Israeli territory, but also soon retreated from the West Bank and lost East Jerusalem to Israel, in what some bitter Palestinians feel was a planned retreat; and was the king's way of saying that he preferred Israeli control over the West Bank rather than Palestinian control there in the near future.
7. In 1998 and 1999, Jordan began to close down and force Hammas leaders out of Amman, at the behest of Arafat, but certainly with the blessing of Israel also. He had always kept "rejectionist groups "on a tight string."
8. The Israeli-Jordanian Peace Agreement in 1994 has allowed Israelis to visit ancient Jewish and Nabatean sites such as Mt. Nebo , Petra, and Jerash, , thus creating somewhat better economic and generally friendlier relationships between the two peoples. The intelligence agencies of the two countries have been cooperating for many years.
9. Recently King Abdullah attempted to convince Assad to restart Israeli-Syrian peace talks. In order to enhance Middle East stability, Israel and Jordan are already working together in a military alliance with Turkey.
10. Both Israel and Jordan receive either military loans or direct assistance from the United States, and King Hussein has often jumped into the political peace talk arena when the Americans could not work out major disagreements between the Palestinian National Authority and Israel.
11. In 1988, King Hussein disclaimed any rights to the West Bank, thus creating the possibility of the Madrid and Oslo Agreements.
12. King Hussein and Prince Hassan constantly encouraged Israeli doves to continue to strive for Middle East peace, and also used his own power in Jordan to demand normalization between his own people and Israel.

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A PARTIAL LIST OF POSITIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS OR EDUCATIONAL, SOCIAL, AND HEALTH RELATED PROJECTS WHICH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS INITIATED IN JORDAN. THIS LIST INCLUDES NON GOVERNMENTAL PROFESSIONAL OR QUASI GOVERNMENTAL SCIENTIFIC OR ECONOMIC GROUPS THAT COOPERATE.

1. The Q.I.Z. is part of an agreement where the textile industry has been shifted to Jordan from Israel, and America buys goods from Jordan without a tariff. Israel receives only a very small percentage of the profit. 15,000 Jordanians are now employed in the industry. Mr. Saleh the representative of the Jordanian owners sees great growth potential in this labor intensive industry
2. The Agricultural and Business Management College in the Rift Valley which will extend on both sides of the border. The Americans put up 40 Million Dollars and the Israelis are to provide the teaching staff.
3. Cooperation between Israeli and Jordanian doctors to cure hearing impairments, as well as joint research against cancer.
4. Joint research between the Technion in Haifa and the Royal Jordanian Scientific Society.
5. Israeli exploration of the possibilities to build the Red Sea-Dead Sea Canal to desalinize water or the less-preferred by the Palestinians, Dead Sea- Mediterranean Canal. There have been discussions about the Yarmuk and Jordan River Dam as well.
6. The storage of Israeli water from the Sea of Galilee which is transferred to Jordan in quantities agreed upon in the Jordanian-Israeli Peace Treaty.
7. The building of an International Airport in Aqaba at Israeli expense to serve the needs of both countries for an air outlet from Eilat and Aqaba.
8. The addition of another crossing between Israel and Jordan and more cooperation between their tourist ministries.
9. Cultural exchanges between university professors.
10. MASHAV: an acronym for The Center for International Cooperation of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs which in 1997 taught in Arabic the following courses: agriculture, health, education, community development, entrepreneurship, and youth activity to 700 Palestinians, 600 Egyptians, and 100 Jordanians. The courses were set up in Egypt, as well as in Haifa where Jordanian women attended.

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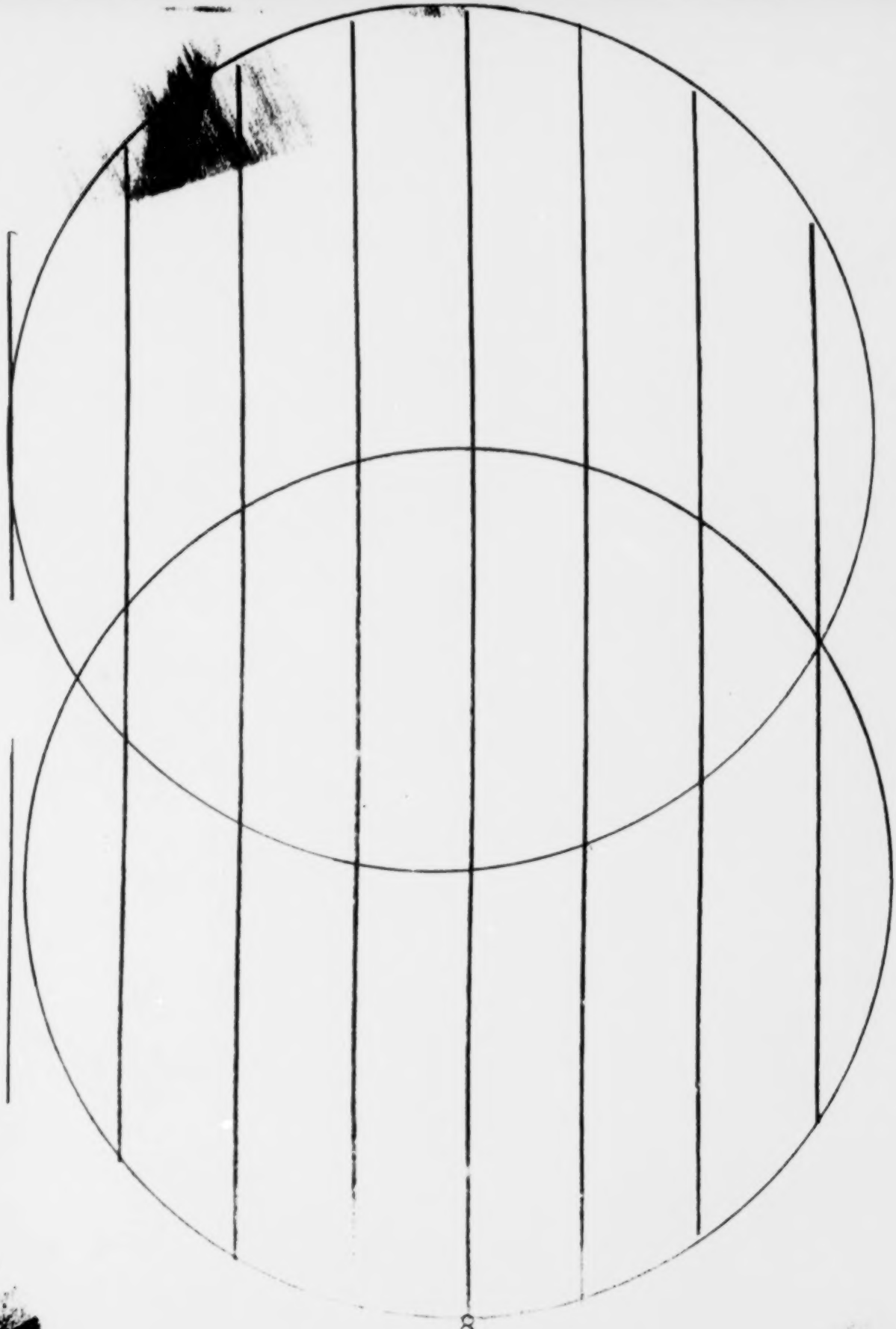
COMPARING ISRAEL AND ISRAEL

	ISRAEL	JORDAN
AREA	20,770 sq. km.	97,740 sq. km.
POPULATION	3,876,000	3,314,400
CAPITAL	Jerusalem	Amman
	389,000	800,000
RELIGION	Jewish, Muslim Christian	Muslim
LANGUAGE	Hebrew, Arabic English	Arabic
LIFE EXPECTANCY	72	60
ECONOMY	diamond cutting chemicals, cloth flowers, fruit armaments	phosphate cement, tourism
EXPORT	fruit, vegetables	fruit, vegetable
PCI	$4,170	$1,180

	ISRAEL	BOTH	JORDAN
LAND		Mountains in north	
	Negev	Desert in South	
		Great Rift Valley	
		Jordan River	
		Dead Sea	
CLIMATE		Mediterranean in north: mild, wet winters,	
		hot, dry summers/ 25 inches rain	
		Desert in south, 115 degrees in summer	
PEOPLE	5,450,000	immigrants	3,000,000
	Europe	urban, uneven population distribution	Palestine '48 & '67
	90% literacy		80% literacy
	middle class		economic gulf
GOVERNMENT	parliamentary		monarchy
	conscription		no draft
	religious	political parties	tribal



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LOCATION
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ENVIRONMENTAL
INTERACTION

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Israel

Israel

The BALFOUR DECLARATION
1917

Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

[Signed]
Arthur James Balfour

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ISRAEL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
May 14, 1948

The Land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from the Land of Israel the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and the restoration of their national freedom.

Impelled by this historic association, Jews strove throughout the centuries to go back to the land of their fathers and regain their statehood. In recent decades they returned in their masses. They reclaimed the wilderness, revived their language, built cities and villages, and established a vigorous and ever-growing community, with its own economic and cultural life. They sought peace, yet were prepared to defend themselves. They brought the blessings of progress to all inhabitants of the country and looked forward to sovereign independence.

In the year 1897 the First Zionist Congress, inspired by Theodor Herzl's vision of the Jewish State, proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to national revival in their own country.

This right was acknowledged by the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and re-affirmed by the Mandate of the League of Nations, which gave explicit international recognition to the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstitute their National Home.

The recent holocaust, which engulfed millions of Jews in Europe, proved anew the need to solve the problem of the homelessness and lack of independence of the Jewish people by means of the re-establishment of the Jewish State, which would open the gates to all Jews and endow the Jewish people with equality of status among the family of nations.

The survivors of the disastrous slaughter in Europe, and also Jews from other lands, have not desisted from their efforts to reach Eretz-Yisrael, in face of difficulties, obstacles and perils; and have not ceased to urge their right to a life of dignity, freedom and honest toil in their ancestral land.

In the second World War the Jewish people in Palestine made their full contribution to the struggle of the freedom-loving nations against the Nazi evil. The sacrifices of their soldiers and their war effort gained them the right to rank with the nations which founded the United Nations.

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a Resolution requiring the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. The General Assembly called upon the inhabitants of the country to take all the necessary steps on their part to put the plan into effect. This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their independent State is unassailable.

It is the natural right of the Jewish people to lead, as do all other nations, an independent existence in its sovereign State.

ACCORDINGLY WE, the members of the National Council, representing the Jewish people in Palestine and the World Zionist Movement, are met together in solemn assembly today, the day of termination of the British Mandate for Palestine, and by virtue of the natural and historic right of the Jewish people and of the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

WE HEREBY PROCLAIM the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine, to be called Medinath Yisrael (The State of Israel).

WE HEREBY DECLARE that, as from the termination of the Mandate at midnight, the 14th-15th May, 1948, and pending the setting up of the duly elected bodies of the State in accordance with a Constitution, to be drawn up by the Constituent Assembly not later than the 1st October, 1948, the National Council shall act as the Provisional State Council, and that the National Administration shall constitute the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, which shall be known as Israel.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion; will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the principles of liberty, justice and peace as conceived by the Prophets of Israel; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of religion, race, or sex; will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, education and culture; will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and will loyally uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter.

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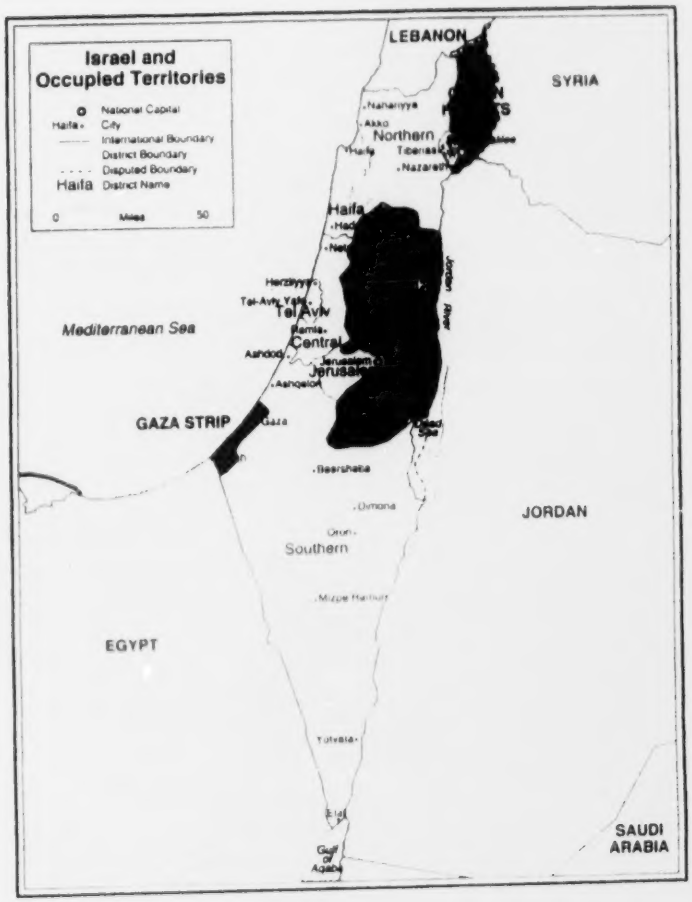

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commercial, much freer than the Jordanian press. Our press is much more ideological.

HS: I get the impression that King Hussein was in favor of the peace agreement but that the Jordanian people were not.

Khouri: No, that's not true. I would say the king was more enthusiastic about the peace agreement than the Jordanian people were. A majority of the Jordanians were not wildly dancing in the streets when th peace treaty was signed, but I think a clear majority was willing to give the king the benefit of the doubt.

HS: It hasn't been a warm peace, has it?

Khouri: It was warm at the government level, but then it got a little bit lukewarm.

HS: Why weren't the Jordanians dancing in the streets?

Khouri: Because of their sense that the Israelis were trying to pick off the Arabs one by one. They made a peace with Egypt. Then they signed the Oslo accord with the Palestinians. Now they made the peace treaty with Jordan. They're trying to pick us off one by one, and they're not really serious, they're just trying to neutralize the Arabs so they can continue with the terrible things they're doing to the Palestinians, expanding settlements, Juda-izing Jerusalem, holding South Lebanon, not wanting to get out of the Golan, etc. I don't necessarily share all these views myself, but this is the sentiment in Jordan—at the street level. There's a feeling that we in Jordan were tricked, not tricked, but pushed into it.

HS: By whom?

Khouri: By the Israelis and the Americans, by other Arab regimes maybe. Circumstances pushed us to sign the peace treaty.

Margalit: I see it the other way around.

HS: What do you mean you see it the other way around?

Margalit: I mean I believe that Israelis love the Jordanians. We don't report about Jordan because we do have a commercial press, commercial television. We don't report about many interesting and important things because they don't get the television ratings.

HS: Israelis have flocked to Jordan, to see the country. They certainly have good will toward the Jordanians. Almost no Jordanians come to Israel.

Margalit: And no Egyptians.

Khouri: Yes, for the first couple years [after the 1994 agreement] about 120,000 Israelis a year came to Jordan, but there was virtually no interaction at the people-to-people level. They went basically to look at antiquity sites where there was Jewish history. Pella, Jerash, Amman, Mt. Nebo, Petra. I, as a Christian, don't take the Bible literally—I think it's made up of a lot of rewriting of national myths. But if you take it literally, which I suppose Jews do, then you have the tribes of Gad, Reuben and half of Mannassah in what is now Jordan. Then there is the whole experience of the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan and all that. A lot of Jews are interested in tracing that history. But there was virtually no people-to-people contact. I was rather shocked to find that some of my Israeli friends who had been to Jordan in '95 and '96 will not go there now. They tell me they are afraid. I say, "What are you afraid of?" They're afraid of being attacked. There's been, as far as I know, only one attack against Israelis, which was a crazed soldier in the Jordan Valley who killed seven girls a couple years ago. He was, of course, put in jail for life by the Jordanians after being tried, but the reality is that I don't see any fear for the life of Israelis, although some Israelis feel this fear. When I visit Jerusalem, I stay in a hotel in Arab East Jerusalem. Some of my Israeli friends will not take me back to my hotel because they're afraid to drive into Arab East Jerusalem.

So the context really is one in which we have formal agreements between governments but we don't have a psychological people-to-people détente at the grassroots level.

Margalit: There are relationships between middle-class Israelis and Palestinians. There is a change. It is slow because of the terror and because there is no peace agreement and because of the political changes in Israel about who is closer to Arafat's position. But basically there is a change. Just last week I heard about Israeli couples going to a discotheque in Shechem having great fun there in the pubs, etc. There is more intermingling there than in Jerusalem because somehow in Jerusalem they are afraid.

Khouri: Israelis should understand why there's this cool peace. When Jordanians or Egyptians choose to make it a cool peace, they do so because of their sense that the Israelis are not really serious about making peace with the other Arabs, Palestinians especially, or Jerusalem, or the settlements.

HS: Speaking of a cold peace, I remember talk-

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ing with the editor of the leading English-language newspaper in Cairo. Here was a seasoned journalist, with years of experience, living a few hundred miles from Egypt's former enemy, now peace partner, and he had never been to Israel. I was amazed! "You're a journalist; don't you want to know? Even if it's your opponent or your enemy, you have to know; you can go now." He had never been there. Then I found out it was against the rules of the professional association of Egyptian journalists to permit him to go. There's a similar situation in Jordan among the lawyers.

Khouri: It's similar in all the professional associations—lawyers, engineers, doctors, journalists. All have taken the position of being against their members having what they call "normalization"—normal contacts with Israelis. Engineers who have done business with Israelis in Jordan have been thrown out of the engineers' association. This is a serious thing because if you're not in the association, you're not licensed to practice. This puts a lot of pressure on people to avoid normalizing relationships with the Jews. The professional associations—which ironically tend to be the better educated in Egypt and Jordan—have taken the lead in fighting against normal relations with Israelis. This should tell the Israelis to explore this, to try to understand why this is happening.

Margalit: Rami, you say there is no contact on the personal level. You know why? Because the Jordanians and the Egyptians refuse to do it.

HS: I was talking with someone who would like to get Jordanian archaeologists to come to Israel to study because there is so much for them to learn here and take back to Jordan. Rami, would they be willing to come if they were given a scholarship?

Khouri: It would be a problem because that means normalizing relations with Israel while Israel has antiquities that were stolen from Jordanian custody and that are now in Israeli museums.

HS: What are they?

Khouri: The Dead Sea Scrolls and all of the antiquities that were in Arab East Jerusalem are now in Israeli museums. This is a problem that has to be resolved. The second problem is the political problem. An individual archaeologist may be hesitant to accept a scholarship in Israel while you have this political situation we're talking about. There's not a stable, people-to-people peace.

HS: Thank you both very much.

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The Government

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is a constitutional monarchy with representative government. The reigning monarch is the head of state, the chief executive and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The king exercises his executive authority through the prime minister and the Council of Ministers, or cabinet. The cabinet, meanwhile, is responsible before the elected House of Deputies which, along with the House of Notables (Senate), constitutes the legislative branch of the government. The judicial branch is an independent branch of the government. Since 1989, all elements of the Jordanian political spectrum have embarked together on a road to greater democracy, liberalization and consensus building. These reforms, which have been guided by King Hussein, have placed Jordan on an irreversible road to democratization. The result has been greater empowerment and involvement of everyday citizens in Jordan's civic life, contributing to increased stability and institutionalization which will benefit the country far into the future.

The Constitution

Jordan's Organic Law was instituted in April 1928 under the guidance of Emir Abdullah. It provided for a consultative parliament, and Jordan's first elections were held in April of the following year. This document was transformed after Jordan gained full independence in May 1946, following the abolition of the British Mandate. A new Constitution was formulated and adopted by the Legislative Council on November 28, 1947. It was published as law in the Official Gazette on February 1, 1947. A few years later, the Constitution was liberalized by King Talal and ratified on January 1, 1952. It is in current use today.

Jordan's constitution stipulates that the country is a hereditary monarchy with a parliamentary system. It outlines the functions and powers of the state, the rights and duties of Jordanians, guidelines for interpretation of the Constitution and conditions for constitutional amendments. It mandates the separation of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, and outlines the regulation of the government's finances, as well as the enforcement and repeal of laws. Importantly, the Constitution specifically guarantees the rights of Jordanian citizens, including the freedoms of speech and press, association, academic freedom, political parties, freedom of religion and the right to elect parliamentary and municipal representatives.

The Executive Branch

The reigning monarch, King Hussein, is the chief executive. The king exercises his executive authority by appointing the prime minister, who then organizes a cabinet of ministers to be appointed by the king. The prime minister and the cabinet must then be approved by the lower house of Parliament, the House of Deputies. If the House of Deputies votes against the prime minister, he and his entire cabinet must resign. The lower house can also vote any individual minister out of office. The king also appoints all of the members of the upper house of Parliament, known as the House of Notables, or Senate. The number of senators cannot exceed one-half the number of elected representatives.

The Constitution stipulates that the reigning monarch must approve laws before they can take effect, although his power of veto can be overridden by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Parliament. The king also authorizes the appointment and dismissal of judges, regional governors and the mayor of Amman, and he approves constitutional amendments, declares war and is commander-in-chief of the armed forces. As head of state, the king concludes and ratifies treaties and agreements, with the approval of the cabinet and Parliament. The king is also entitled to grant special pardons and amnesties.

The throne of the Kingdom is passed down through inheritance within the dynasty of King Abdullah bin al-Hussein in the direct line of his male heirs. Since 1921, Jordan has been ruled by three monarchs: King Abdullah bin al-Hussein (1921-51), son of Sharif Hussein of Mecca; King Talal bin Abdullah (1951-52), eldest son of King Abdullah; and King Hussein bin Talal (1952-present), eldest son of King Talal. The constitution also stipulates that the king can name one of his brothers to be the crown prince. King Hussein named his youngest brother, El Hassan bin Talal, heir to the throne in April 1965.

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The Prime Minister and Cabinet

The administration of all internal and external Jordanian affairs is entrusted to the prime minister and the cabinet, or Council of Ministers. The king's appointment of the cabinet must be confirmed by the lower house of Parliament, and the ministers remain accountable to it. The Constitution requires that the Council of Ministers present its political program to Parliament, where it is then voted on within one month of the formation of the cabinet.

Jordan's current cabinet was formed in February 1996, and is headed by Prime Minister Abdul Karim al-Kabariti. The 31-member cabinet includes a broad coalition of 21 centrist and left-of-center deputies from the 80-seat lower house of Parliament. Significantly, about two-thirds of the 31 ministers are entering the executive branch for the first time, signifying an infusion of new blood and fresh thinking into the Jordanian political landscape. The top priorities of the new cabinet include economic and political reforms needed to stimulate investment and reap the benefits of the new era of peace.

Mr. Kabariti, who is currently Prime Minister, Minister of Defense and Minister of Foreign Affairs, comes from a leading Jordanian political and business family. He held the post of foreign minister during the previous government of Sherif Zeid bin Shaker, and is largely credited with improving Jordan's ties with Saudi Arabia and other Gulf Arab states that had been strained since the Gulf Crisis of 1990-91. During his chairmanship of the foreign affairs committee of Parliament in 1994, he helped ensure legislative ratification of the peace treaty with Israel.

District and Local Government

Jordan is divided into twelve regional governorates, or *muhafathat*, each of which is divided into smaller administrative subregions. Each governorate is headed by a governor, who is appointed by the king through the Ministry of the Interior. The district government acts as the executive organ for carrying out cabinet decisions on the local level. They are thus essentially an extention of the central government, and are supervised by the Ministry of the Interior.

In contrast to the appointed district governors, mayors are elected. The only exception to this rule is the mayor of Amman, who is appointed directly by the king. Mayors supervise the day-to-day affairs of towns and cities, and grievances against mayors can be appealed to the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs and the Environment.

The Legislative Branch

Legislative powers are shared by the king and Parliament, which is comprised of the 40-member House of Notables (*Majlis al-Aayan*), or Senate, and the 80-member House of Deputies (*Majlis al-Nuwaab*). While senators are appointed by King Hussein, deputies of the lower house are directly elected by universal suffrage. Article 34 of the Constitution entitles the king to dissolve either house of Parliament or to discharge any of its members. The normal parliamentary term is four years.

The process of lawmaking centers on Parliament. Both houses of Parliament initiate debates and vote on legislation. Proposals are referred by the prime minister to the House of Deputies, where deputies can either accept, amend or reject them. Each proposal is referred to a special committee in the lower house for consideration. If the deputies accept the proposal, they refer it to the government to draft it in the form of a bill and submit it back to the House for approval. A bill approved by the House of Deputies is passed on by the House speaker (an elected official) to the Senate for debate and a vote. If approved, the bill is then submitted to the king, who can either grant consent by royal decree or return the bill unapproved with justification for his refusal. In this case, the bill is returned to the House of Deputies, where the review and voting process is repeated. Should both houses, meeting jointly, pass the bill by a two-thirds majority, it becomes an Act of Parliament, constitutionally overriding the monarch's veto. Any bill rejected by the Senate is returned to the House of Deputies for amendment. Disagreement between the two houses is settled by a two-thirds majority vote in a joint session of Parliament. Article 95 of the Constitution also empowers both the Senate and the House of Deputies to submit legislation to the government in the form of a draft law.

Deputies in the lower house of Parliament are entitled to certain rights which the Constitution does not grant to upper house members. They are entitled to question the government on any public issue, and may make accusations against ministers through a decision issued by a two-thirds majority of lower house members. The government minister against whom accusations are made shall be suspended from his or her post until the case is resolved. The House of Deputies is also entitled to submit a vote of no-confidence in the government (the Council of Ministers) or one of its members. If the House votes by an absolute majority to withho'd confidence from the cabinet, then the cabinet must resign. The deputies can also withhold confidence from an individual minister, who must then resign.

The upper house of Parliament, or the Senate, is viewed as an extension of the king's legislative powers because it is appointed by the king and enjoys his confidence. It enjoys equal status with the lower house on the level of legislation. Members of both houses enjoy the same complete freedom of expression when speaking in Parliament, and the same degree of immunity against arrest while in office. The lower house alone, however, is entitled to hold a no-confidence vote against the government.

Both houses of Parliament have several permanent committees, including: Legal, Finance, Administrative and Foreign Affairs. Members of lower house of Parliament committees are elected for two years. Deputies and the Senate may also appoint other permanent or provisional committees and designate their functions and duties. The current upper house of Parliament has seven committees: Supreme Constitutional Councils; Legal; Finance; Administrative; Foreign Affairs; Education and Higher Learning; and Environment, Social Development and Health.

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The 1993-97 National Assembly

In August 1993, Parliament passed a provisional law called "The Law Amending the Law of Election to the House of Deputies for the year 1993" which adjusted Jordan's electoral system to the principle of "one person, one vote."[11] The provisional law ended the previous voting system, whereby voters were entitled to as many votes as the number of parliamentary seats allocated for their district. This law divides the country into 20 electoral constituencies, each with a certain allotment of seats in the lower house of Parliament. In order to ensure adequate representation, Jordan also reserves a number of parliamentary seats for the country's minorities. Of the 71 seats for Muslim deputies, six are reserved for Bedouins while three go to Circassians and Chechens. The remaining nine seats go to Christian deputies.

The 1993 election results showed a growth in the number of independents, a decrease in the number of Islamists and the election of the first woman to Parliament. The voter turnout was greater than in 1989, with 55 percent of the registered voter pool taking part in the elections. The 40 members (including two women) of the Senate were named by royal decree, and the four-year term of Jordan's Twelfth Parliament convened on November 23, 1993.

Out of the 20 licensed political parties, 19 ran for office in the 1993 elections. Candidates from ten parties managed to win 30 seats in the 80-member House of Deputies. The remaining 50 seats went to independent candidates. The Islamic Action Front, with 17 seats, is the largest political force in parliament. It is followed by al-'Ahd ("The Pledge") party and the Jordanian National Alliance party, each with three members. The remaining successful parties have just one seat each, while some of the parties are no longer represented because their deputies have left the party. Although independents constitute the majority in the lower house, it is nonetheless possible to classify them according to loose ideological and political affiliations.

The Judicial Branch

Jordan's constitution guarantees the independence of the judicial branch, clearly stating that judges are "subject to no authority but that of the law." While the king must approve the appointment and dismissal of judges, in practice those are supervised by the Higher Judicial Council, which forms independent decisions regarding the periodic recommendations submitted to it by the Ministry of Justice.

Article 99 of the Constitution divides the courts into three categories: civil, religious and special courts. The civil courts exercise their jurisdiction in respect to civil and criminal matters in accordance with the law, and they have jurisdiction over all persons in all matters, civil and criminal, including cases brought against the government. The civil courts include Magistrate Courts, Courts of First Instance, Courts of Appeal, High Administrative Courts and the Court of Cassation (Supreme Court). The Jordanian civil legal system has its foundations in the Code Napoléon, a French legal code implemented in Egypt in the early 19th century.

The religious courts include shari'a (Islamic Law) courts and the tribunals of other religious communities, namely those of the Christian minority. Religious courts have primary and appellate courts and deal only with matters involving personal law such as marriage, divorce, inheritance and child custody. Shari'a courts also have jurisdiction over matters pertaining to the Islamic *waqfs* (religious endowments). In cases involving parties of different religions, regular courts have jurisdiction.

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APPENDIX VI

EXCERPTS FROM THE BOOK 1949 BY TOM SEGEV, 1998

A few weeks after the UN Partition Resolution, Ben Gurion had promised his party that major changes would take place in the demographic composition of the country. He was referring to the Arabs whom he expected to leave.

Indeed tens of thousands of Arabs abandoned their homes during those months. A few weeks before the the Declaration of Independence Ben Gurion said. Now history has shown who is really attached to this country and for whom this country is a luxury which is easily given up. So far not a single Jewish settlement, however remote, helpless or isolated, has been abandoned. The Arabs, on the other hand, have abandoned entire cities, like Tiberius and Haifa with the greatest of ease, after their very first defeat.

Many Arabs did leave their homes but not the country. They found shelter among relatives in areas which seemed secure. Some Arabs left believing that they would return in a few days bringing up the rear of the victorius Arab armies. Some left despite attempts made by Israeli leaders who tried to persuade them to remain. Some fought against the Israeli army and fled only after they had been defeated in battle.

Weitz (Yosef Weitz, head of the Jewish National Fund) went on the answer is obvious: the people of Israel will give!... If we were willing to purchase peace at the cost of many dear lives, would we refrain from purchasing it with money.

. that not a single refugee would be allowed back, except within framework of family reunification, but nevertheless Israel would undertake a major part of the cost of resettling them in the Arab countries.

six weeks later (Summer 1949) Sharett informed McDonald that Israel would be willing to take back 100,000 refugees, on the condition that return would be part of a general and final solution of the refugee problem.

the latter (Sharett) told the US Ambassador McDonald, that in the past few months some 24,000 refugees had returned to Israel.

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242
1967

Text of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967

Adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. *Affirms* that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

   (i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

   (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. *Affirms further* the necessity

   (a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

   (b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

   (c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles of this resolution.

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338
1973

Text of United Nations Security Council Resolution 338

Adopted by the Security Council at its 1747th meeting, on 21/22 October 1973

The Security Council

1. *Calls upon* all parties to the present fighting to cease all firing and terminate all military activity immediately, no later than 12 hours after the moment of the adoption of this decision, in the positions they now occupy;

2. *Calls upon* the parties concerned to start immediately after the cease-fire the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) in all of its parts;

3. *Decides* that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

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Address by

King Hussein

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

At the signing of
The Treaty of Peace
26 October 1994

Salaam u-aleikum...

Peace be upon you, God's peace — the greeting with which Muslims and Arabs receive their guests, exchange amongst each other the greeting that has been taken to every part of the world over a long and cherished history and past.

It is with a sense of enormous pride, a sense of fulfilment, that I stand here before you today, together with President Clinton, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, President Weizman, and all our distinguished colleagues and friends. An unusual day, a day like no other in terms of the hopes, in terms of the promise, and in terms of the determination. God willing, and with God's blessing of us all. To remember this day as long as we live and for future generations — Jordanians, Israelis, Arabs, Palestinians — all children of Abraham; to remember it as a dawning of the new era of peace, mutual respect between us all, tolerance and the coming together of people of generations to come beyond this time to build and achieve what is worthy of them.

We will always cherish the memory and honor of all those who have fallen over the years from amongst all of our peoples. I believe they are with us on this occasion, this time, as we come together to ensure, God willing, that there will be no more death, no more misery, no more suspicion, no more fear, no more uncertainty of what each day might bring, as has been the case in the past.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and I had the honor of signing the Washington Declaration with President Clinton, our partner and our friend, and we took it upon us, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and myself, to shepherd the process of negotiations to a successful conclusion. I believe that both of us share in this

moment of achievement and pride and relief, for hopefully we have contributed towards a better future of our peoples for all times to come.

The Prime Minister of Israel and the Prime Minister of Jordan will shortly ratify the peace treaty between our two countries. This will be witnessed by President Clinton. In a matter of days, we will have completed in Jordan the passage of this peace treaty through the legislature. I, who have accompanied my colleague throughout this process — Prime Minister Majali since Madrid, my brother Crown Prince Hassan, and every Jordanian who has been involved and honored to be involved in this peace process — fully support every word and every letter in this peace process between Jordan and Israel. I know it is supported by the overwhelming majority of our people, who have learned today of its passage through the Israeli Knesset by an overwhelming majority.

These are the moments in which we live, the past and the future. This great valley in which we stand will become the valley of peace. And one may come together to build it and to make it bloom, as never before. When we come to live next to each other, as never before, we will be doing so, Israelis and Jordanians, together, without the need for any to observe our actions or supervise our endeavors. This is peace with dignity, this is peace with commitment.

This is our gift to our peoples and the generations to come, that will herald the change in the quality of life of people. It will not be simply a piece of paper ratified by those responsible, blessed by the world. It will be real, as we open our hearts and minds to each other; as we discover a human face to everything that has happened and to each other. For all of us have suffered for far too long.

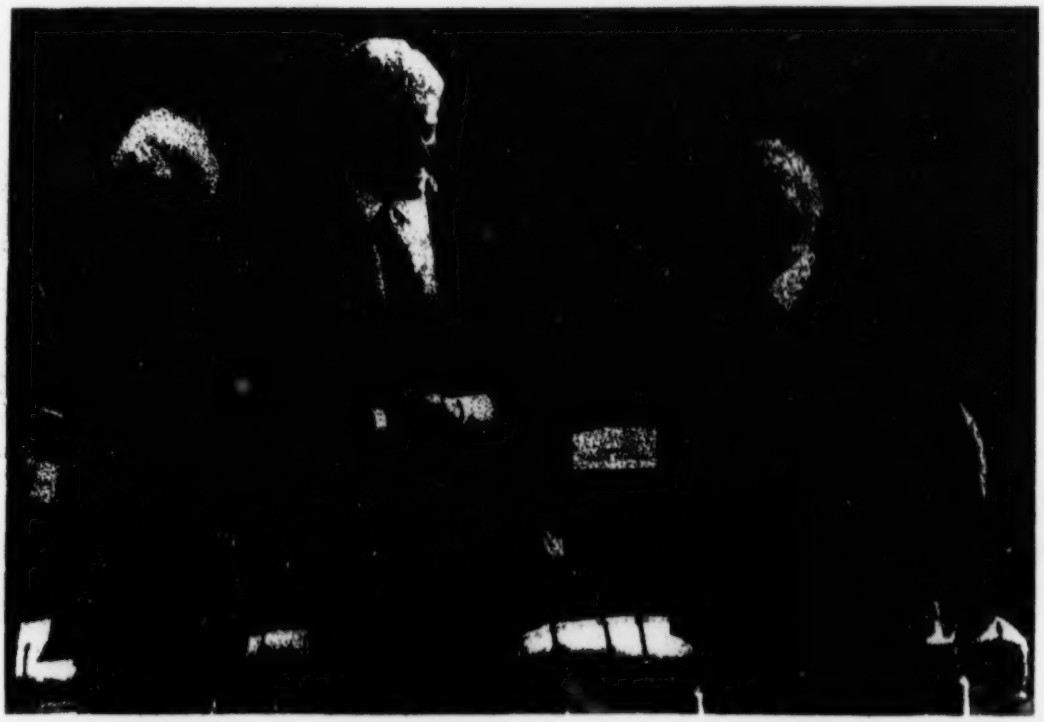
President Clinton, you have been our partner, you have been our friend, you have given us your support, together with the administration of the United States of America. You are at the helm during this historic moment. We will always remember the warmth of your welcome to us both in Washington, and the warmth of the welcome of the people of the United States of America with which they received our news and lauded our achievements. No one will ever forget this day, and in particular we will always remember the fact that you personally came to be with us here on this most happy of occasions, at the end of a chapter of darkness and the opening of a book of light. Ever proud of our friendship, God bless you and give you every future success.

Maybe the world needs some good examples of what should happen between people, and hopefully this might herald similar progress, not only on all the tracks here in this region, because we are all committed to a comprehensive peace — we wish it, and hopefully it will be — but throughout the world; the world that is the home of all of us, that in itself is so small, where so much needs to be addressed and met, for humanity and for the future.

Behind us here you see Eilat and Aqaba, the way we have lived over the years,

in such close proximity — unable to meet, to visit each other, to develop this beautiful part of the world. No more — as we look into the future beyond this point, with determination, with hope, with commitment. We survived the hard times. Let our people beyond this point in time enjoy the good times.

I would like to thank all our friends, all our distinguished guests, who join us here today — the representative of President Yeltsin, Foreign Minister Abrasha, distinguished foreign ministers, our Arab brethren from our greater Arab homeland, our guests from throughout the world, our friends. A very hearty welcome to all of you, Jordanians and Israelis alike at this very precious moment. God bless you.



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Address by

King Hussein

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

At the ratification of
The Treaty of Peace
10 November 1994

Prime Minister Rabin, my good friends,

I thank God, the Almighty, for blessing us both with the ability to see our long and objective march through to its conclusion. Yesterday, in Jordan, the Treaty of Peace between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the State of Israel passed through its final constitutional phases. It is a privilege and a pleasure for me to be able to be with you here today, to exchange these documents, and to share with you the feeling that our long search and determined effort has put us on the threshold of the beginning that is worthy of us all, and worthy of our peoples — the threshold of peace, which I hope generations to come will cherish, protect and enjoy, and build and achieve what is worthy of them.

We hope and pray that this important event will be one of many, as all search for a comprehensive peace in this region and for the better future which is our peoples' right.

I would like to express my thanks to you, Prime Minister, your colleagues, as indeed I do to my colleagues from Jordan — the Crown Prince who represented me time and again and helped me oversee this process to this happy conclusion, the Prime Minister, the Jordanian team — everyone who approached peace with determination and hope and pride.

This is an honorable peace, a peace that will last, because from the first instant, it was our determination to make it so. Today, in this beautiful place, in this scenic spot, I would like to thank all of you for welcoming us here. I share with you a commitment to fight to preserve peace, as we struggled in the past in our search for it. I am sure that generations to come will build on what we have established, and we have solid foundations, and wish them the best.

Thank you very very much indeed.

Address by
Yitzhak Rabin
Prime Minister of Israel

At the ratification of
The Treaty of Peace
10 November 1994

Your Majesty King Hussein, The Crown Prince, Prime Minister Majali, your colleagues, my colleagues — Foreign Minister Peres, two members of Knesset representing the two major parties, MK David Levy who was the Foreign Minister of Israel and MK Eli Goldstein — both of them live here along the Jordan River, from Degania to Beit She'an; my other Israeli colleagues, ladies and gentlemen,

Our peace treaty with your country, Your Majesty, was ratified even before we signed it. There was a national consensus in this,105 members of the Knesset from most of the major parties supported it and its expression of unique relations, admiration of your leadership as the King of Jordan, and our dreams, our aspirations to sign a peace treaty with you, that was common to the majority of the people of Israel, came into being.

I believe that what we have done now, exchanged the ratified peace treaty

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between Jordan and Israel, today we start to count the days, the months, which are so specified in the peace treaty — what will have to be done to materialize it. Not just to sign it, not just to write it, but really to make it a viable, entirely different relationship between our two countries and our two peoples.

I believe this is the most beautiful scene to do the most beautiful act, to end not a state of war — this we decided in the Washington Declaration in Washington — but to establish the structure of peace, to build the relations of peace. I am sure that on this occasion I can tell that the people of Israel are more than eager to see it materialized; to see a unique relationship develop between our two countries to the benefit of the peoples of the two countries, and to serve as an example of what peace can bring about in our region by building between our two countries and our two peoples.

There is no doubt in my mind that this is a unique historic day. It is the second peace treaty that we signed, the first one since the convening of the Madrid Peace Conference three years ago. Which shows that with a good will, with determination, with courage — peace is attainable. I hope that it will serve as an example to the other countries with which we negotiate — Syria, Lebanon — which one day will be convinced by what we have achieved, together, Your Majesty, and they will follow what has been done between our two countries, between you, Your Majesty, and myself.

Our aspiration is for a Middle East in which all the neighboring Arab countries and the Palestinians will solve the problems between them for the purpose of having an entirely different Middle East — a Middle East in which we all will live in peace, will build a new area, new relationships, new cooperation in every aspect of the lives of the countries and the peoples.

Your Majesty, you led your country with courage, imagination and vision. You led your country and people under difficult times, and today, I believe, is a day in which we can celebrate together. Thank you very much, Your Majesty. I believe that peace now will be implemented, because what we have signed, because of the determination of our two countries and our two peoples to live in real peace.

Thank you very much. Thank you all.

Shalom, Salaam and Peace.

Address by

Yitzhak Rabin

Prime Minister of Israel

At the signing of
The Treaty of Peace
26 October 1994

Chag Sameach.

Happy holiday. Happy holiday to the people of Israel; happy holiday to the people of Jordan. Let this be an end to war, violence and hostile activity. And let us know no more war.

Your Majesty King Hussein I, President Clinton, President Weizman, the Foreign Ministers of our countries, distinguished guests from all over the world, the peoples of Jordan and Israel,

From this podium, I look around and I see the Arava. Along the horizon, from the Jordanian side and the Israeli side, I see only a desert. There is almost no life here. There is no water, no well, and not a spring — only minefields. Such were the relations between Israel and Jordan during the last 47 years: a desert. Not one green leaf, no trees, not even a single flower.

There comes a time when there is a need to be strong and to make courageous decisions, to overcome the minefields, the drought, the barrenness between our two peoples. We have known many days of sorrow, you have known many days of grief — but bereavement unites us, as does bravery, and we honor those who sacrificed their lives. We both must draw on the springs of our great spiritual resources, to forgive the anguish we caused each other, to clear the minefields that divided us for so many years and to supplant them with fields of plenty.

For nearly two generations, desolation pervaded the heart of our two peoples. The time has now come not merely to dream of a better future — but to realize it.

Leaders should clear the path, should show the way, but the road itself must be paved by both peoples. I don't believe that we would have reached this great moment without the desire for peace in the hearts of both peoples; in the hearts of the soldiers and the intellectua's, in the hearts of the farmers and of the lorry drivers who drive through the Arava highways in Jordan and Israel, in the hearts of teachers and of the little children. Both nations were determined that the great revolution in the Middle East would take place in their generation.

From this podium, I look around and I see the Arava — and I see you: our generation and the next. We are the ones who will transform this barren place into a fertile oasis. The drab browns and the dull grays will burst forth in living vibrant greens.

Your Majesty, peace between states is peace between peoples. It is an expression of trust and esteem. I have learned to know and admire the quiet and the smiling power with which you guard your nation and the courage with which you lead your people. It is not only our states that are making peace with each other today, not only our nations that are shaking hands in peace here in the Arava. You and I, your Majesty, are making peace here, our own peace, the peace of soldiers and the peace of friends.

President Clinton, thank you for your tremendous support throughout the entire process, which was vital for the achievement of this final result.

I would like to thank many others on the Israeli side, on the Jordanian side, that worked very hard — day and night — that we be allowed to reach this great moment. The Foreign Minister of Israel; the head of our team, Elyakim Rubinstein; Ephraim Halevy; and many others that no doubt contributed a lot to this great achievement.

As dawn broke this morning and a new day began, new life came into the world — babies were born in Jerusalem. Babies were born in Amman. But this morning is different. To the mother of the Jordanian newborn — a blessed day to you. To the mother of the Israeli newborn — a blessed day to you.

The peace that was born today gives us all the hope that the children born today will never know war between us — and their mothers will know no sorrow.

Allow me to end by the simple words: Shalom, Salaam, Peace.

Address by

William J. Clinton

President of the United States of America

At the signing of
The Treaty of Peace
26 October 1994

King Hussein, President Weizman, Prime Minister Rabin, Prime Minister Majali, Crown Prince Hassan, Foreign Minister Peres, Foreign Minister Kozyrev, the Secretary of State, the people of Jordan and Israel, with special thanks to those who are our cheering section up there — we thank you all.

At the dawn of this peace of the generations, in this ancient place, we celebrate the history and the faith of Jordanians and Israelis, but we break the chains of the past that for too long have kept you shackled in the shadows of strife and suffering. We thank those who have worked for peace before, we celebrate the efforts of brave leaders who saw the bright horizon of this dawn even while the darkness lingered. This vast bleached desert hides great signs of life. Today we see the proof of it, for peace between Jordan and Israel is no longer a mirage. It is real, it will take root in this soil. It will grow to great heights and shelter generations to come. Today we honor the constant and devoted work of two courageous leaders. Two that have risked everything, so that their children and their children's children need fight nor fear no more.

King Hussein, today in this arid place, you bring to full flower the memory of the man who taught you to seek peace, your grandfather, King Abdullah. When he was martyred four decades ago, he left you with a great burden and a great dream. He believed that one day on both sides of the River Jordan, Arab and Jew would live in peace. How greatly you have shouldered that burden and carried that dream. Now, after so much danger and so much hardship, your Majesty, your day has come. Truly you have fulfilled your grandfather's legacy.

Prime Minister Rabin, you have spent a lifetime as a soldier fighting first to establish your country and then for so long to defend it. For a lifetime you have

fought with skill, and tenacity and courage, simply to achieve a secure and lasting peace for your people. Now you have given them the hope of life after the siege. In your own words, you have now given them the challenge to furnish the house of Israel and make it a home. As a general, you have won many battles through strength and courage. But now through strength and courage, you command the army of peace and you have won the greatest victory of all. We salute you.

As has been said before, this treaty is the product of many hands. Crown Prince Hassan and Foreign Minister Peres know better than any of us that peace does not spring full grown. It requires cultivation, it requires patience and care. We salute their devotion and persistence and the wise and determined counsel of Secretary Christopher. We are in all their debt and we thank them.

I say to the people of Israel and Jordan, now you must make this peace real. To turn no man's land into every man's home. To take down the barbed wire, to remove the deadly mines, to help the wounds of war to heal. Open your borders, open your hearts. Peace is more than an agreement on paper, it is feeling, it is activity, it is devotion. The forces of terror will try to hold you back. Already they take deadly aim at the future of peace and in their zeal to kill hope and keep hatred alive they would deny all the peace can bring to your children. We cannot, we must not, we will not let them succeed.

The United States stands with you. Since President Truman first recognized Israel, we have wished for and worked for comprehensive peace between Israel and all of her neighbors. On behalf of all Americans, including millions of Jewish and Arab Americans for whom this day means so much, I thank you for trusting America to help you arrive at this moment. The American people are very proud of the opportunity we have had.

And now let the work of progress bear fruit. Here at the first of many crossing points to be opened, people from every corner of the earth will soon come to share in the wonders of your land. There are resources to be found in the desert. Minerals to be drawn from the sea. Water to be separated from salt and used to fertilize the fields. Here where slaves in ancient times were forced to take their chisels to the stone, the earth, as the Koran says, "will stir and swell and bring forth life." The desert, as Isaiah prophesied, "shall rejoice and blossom." Here your people will drink water from the same well and savor together the fruit of the vine. As you seize this moment, be assured that you will redeem every life sacrificed along the long road that brought us to this day. You will take the hatred out of hearts and you will pass along to your children a peace for the generations.

Your Majesty, Mr. Prime Minister, here in the great Rift Valley you have bridged the tragic rift that separated your people for too long. Here in this region which is the home of not only both your faiths, but mine, I say: "Blessed are the peace makers for they shall inherit the earth."

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